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A PAPALIST AND THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA¹

THE Holy Office in its Instruction on the Œcumenical Movement of December 1949 has reminded us that the various Christian bodies which participate in œcumenical conversations are, in their love of and desire for unity, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. At present the particular focus of Christian unity differs very widely as between one Christian body and another. Catholics believe that they already know what the essentials of ultimate unity are because the one, true Church to which they are privileged to belong already irrefragably possesses them in their completeness.

It is of course true that, within certain wider limits, every sincere Christian, whatever his particular allegiance, has a view of what the ultimate unity of Christians will be, if and when it comes about, and that view is determined by what he holds to be essential, according to the mind of Christ, as to truth to be believed and policy to be observed. That is why the Œcumenical Movement is so heterogeneous in its outlook and immediate aims. But it is important that Catholics should not let this mislead them into dismissing it too easily, as something not worth consideration or interest, because they assume that, of its very nature, it cannot be an important element in a true unification of Christians.

¹ *The Church of South India and the Church* by Donald Rea. Published for the Confraternity of Unity, Baxter's Press, Oxford.

We must recognize in practice what we believe in theory, that faith is a pure gift of God, a gift bestowed how and when he wills. It may well be that the restoration of faith in its full extension to Christendom will come about by the gradual and, as it were, piecemeal bestowal of faith, first of all in a way of life, Catholic in type and strongly sacramental in character, and then when this has been vitally achieved and lived in some fullness, by the bestowal of faith in the divinely created polity and authority upon which the preservation and propagation of that way of life ultimately depend. For over a hundred years we have seen the first stages of this process, the evolution of a way of life catholic in type, at work within the Church of England under the aegis of the movement that began in Oxford in 1833. Anglo-Catholicism has done, in the course of more than a century, astonishing things in restoring, within the Church of England, Catholic sacramentalism and the doctrines that are its foundation. Yet the Church of England itself remains a microcosm of divided Christendom, in that it embraces and represents within its borders almost every type of Christian belief, from extreme Protestantism to extreme Papalism. Moreover, the Anglo-Catholic movement, while largely homogeneous in its sacramental beliefs and its adherence to and practice of the Catholic way of life, is deeply divided on the question of authority and polity, its beliefs ranging from Papalism to a view of Scripture and Tradition barely distinguishable from that of Evangelical Protestantism.

It is not, therefore, a view untenable by Catholics that God is working out his purposes for Christendom through the Ecumenical Movement, and that the beginnings of growth towards unity are already perceptible in the extent to which a 'Catholic' and sacramental conception of the Christian life is very gradually infiltrating world Protestantism, the principal agent of this infiltration being the Anglican communion.

The newly constituted Church of South India is of course one of the principal theatres of the working out of this process, and its best illustration. Up to a year or two ago there was in the Anglo-Catholic group a very strong body of opposition to the C.S.I., chiefly based upon the lack of security in its *Basis of Union* and *Constitution* for an orthodoxy in official doctrine such as is provided by the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. Opposition was also based upon the fact of the existing parity of recognition of episcopal and non-episcopal orders in the current working system of C.S.I. There was great anxiety too about the manner of setting up the external

institution of episcopacy. The official *Constitution* declared that no one was bound to hold any particular view as to its nature and necessity. This seemed to evacuate the institution of any Catholic meaning it might have and inevitably caused doubts about the validity, by Catholic standards, of the Orders conferred by the new bishops.

When last year the status of the C.S.I. and the validity of its orders came up for consideration by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, this opposition on the part of the Anglo-Catholic leaders which had formerly been so strong was now almost entirely withdrawn, and complete recognition was given to the orders of the C.S.I. as valid, and a greatly increased, though still partial, recognition was accorded to its status as a Church. This change of attitude caused considerable surprise among Catholics, who necessarily judge the matter from the standpoint of the standards set by Catholic theology, and tend to expect Anglo-Catholics to do the same. The motive lying behind the change was undoubtedly a keen realization of the fact that ever since the C.S.I. came into being in 1947 great progress has been made in a catholicizing direction within the different traditions of its constituent bodies, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist.

Only the extreme right of Anglo-Catholicism, the Papalists, seemed to remain intransigent in their opposition in face of this general change of attitude. It is therefore of great interest to read *The Church of South India and the Church* by the Rev. Donald Rea, a prominent member of the Confraternity of Unity, members of which accept the Vatican decrees, and the editor of the review *Reunion*.² Fr Rea is well read in all the latest Catholic literature of ecclesiology as well as in the classical theology of St Thomas. He shows himself well acquainted with the Encyclical *Mystici Corporis* and with the theological intricacies of the question of membership of the Church. He writes with clarity and perceptiveness and, while holding all Catholic doctrine 'atomically', as it were, retains in a high degree what may be described as the Anglican mentality. His position is that the Church of England, like the Orthodox Church and other separated Oriental Churches, remains as an organization an 'imperfect' Church, in schism but potential to Catholic unity in its centre the Holy See. He fully recognizes this as an anomalous position and admits that the Church of England abounds in anomalies, but he

² The importance of this pamphlet in the Church of England is indicated by the fact that it is introduced by a preface from the Bishop of Chichester.

holds that the existence of such anomalies must be tolerated if ever Christendom is to be reunited. He holds further that œcumenical technique, such as has been adopted in the negotiations for the setting up of the C.S.I., necessarily creates, at least for the time, new anomalies, but that we must believe that these anomalies, in the providence of God, will be progressively eliminated by an œcumenical evolution in which a point will be reached when the Church of England, and such reunited bodies as the constituent members of the C.S.I., will be immediately, instead of only remotely, potential to entrance into Catholic unity. Is this merely the pursuit of a will o' the wisp?

It is of course irrelevant to argue in face of such a position, as does an Anglican author Mr William Grisbrooke, in the Spring number of the *E.C.Q.*, that the C.S.I. contains many highly un-Catholic anomalies. Fr Rea's answer is so does the Church of England. The fact that the anomalies of the C.S.I. are more glaring perhaps, and go deeper than those of the Church of England hardly counts, since his whole position as an Anglican Papalist is based on a sincere belief that extreme anomalies may and must be tolerated in the circumstances, because under God's providence they are destined to disappear in the course of an œcumenical evolution from which a true Catholic unity must emerge. Père Louis Bouyer in his *Istina*³ article may well have been over optimistic, and Mr Grisbrooke's facts are doubtless true, but, granted the existence and toleration of anomalies such as Fr Rea's position presupposes, neither circumstance can essentially affect the case.

It must be borne in mind that both Fr Rea and presumably Mr Grisbrooke believe Anglican Orders to be valid, as do all the Anglo-Catholics who have accepted the C.S.I. as an experiment in Christian unity, to be supported, in spite of the anomalies it involves, because they believe as Fr Rea believes. The acceptance as valid of the orders of the C.S.I. by the Convocations, on the advice of a Joint Committee containing many Anglo-Catholic theologians, follows from this belief in the validity of Anglican Orders, and it may well be admitted that if Anglican Orders are valid then so are those of the C.S.I. The present revival of controversy on this subject has at least served to make abundantly clear that in the end the argument resolves itself into the more ultimate question of the

³ L'Union des Eglises du Sud de l'Inde in *Istina* (April-June 1955). A translation of part of this article appeared in *Theology* January 1956, 'A Roman Catholic View of the Church of South India'.

nature and authority of the Church. If Anglican Orders can be proved valid on the traditional principles of Western Christendom concerning intention it can only be by altering what the word Church means in that tradition, and maintaining that a national Church is competent to tamper with doctrine and change rites on its own initiative and in opposition to the authority of the Holy See while yet remaining a part of the Church of Christ. The Anglican mentality as it exists in Anglo-Catholics has always been able to do this, while at the same time deeply regretting much or even all that has followed from the exercise of this competence. One is driven in consequence to the conclusion that their defence of Anglican Orders and above all their sincere certainty about them rests on a basis other than that of the rational analysis of theological principle and historical truth. This factor should never be lost sight of by the Catholic œcumenist.

What then must our judgement be upon all this. We stand outside it as far as personal involvement is concerned, and our judgement on the final œcumenical evolution towards Christian unity is entirely governed by the teaching of our Faith concerning the nature of the Church's unity and its resultant authority. And we stand apart from it in another way, because for us the whole area of discussion lies outside the operation of the validity of orders and sacraments. For us the orders of the Church of England are no more valid than those of the C.S.I. and therefore they are beyond our calculation. For the precise purpose of the validity of sacraments is that we may have sure guarantees of the gifts of grace God gives us, but we have no right to dogmatize about what he does apart from his own guarantees on behalf of those who have lost them. What Christ our Lord by the power of the Holy Spirit is doing among our separated brethren, how far and in what way he uses Christian ordinances and ministries, not valid by Catholic standards but used in good faith and with true devotion? These are questions the answer to which we do not know. We can only guess, and our guesses will be based on the fruits of the spirit we see in those who do so use them.

It does not appear impossible that God should lead men, as individuals and even as embodied in 'Churches' towards increasingly Catholic conceptions of ministry and sacraments, when both ordinances and ministry in actual use are defective and therefore invalid. It is true that on the human side the organization of such a process, judged by the absolute

standards of the teaching Church speaking the word of Christ, is anomalous and defective. It involves liturgical formulas and statements of doctrine capable of being interpreted in different ways, and a form of episcopacy about which widely differing views may be held. This is clearly the case both in the C.S.I. and in its parent body the Church of England. Since, however, these things happen outside the scope of sacramental validity and the jurisdictional authority of the Church, it is in God's hands, not in ours.

Our judgement upon it therefore will necessarily be a suspended one. We must constantly return to that elementary truth of our religion that faith is a free gift which God bestows when and where he will, and to that other truth that each man's personal conscience accepts or rejects God's offer whatever its extension may include. It may well be that God will do great things for Christian unity through the working of the Œcumenical Movement, offering his gift by slow degrees to our separated brethren in accordance with his hidden purposes, widening its extent as he sees fit until at last it embraces the totality of the revelation committed to his Church. It may be that in course of time he will guide his Church, as the situation develops, to a closer co-operation in œcumenical work than has hitherto been possible. Meanwhile, we must do all in our power not to hinder by harsh and precipitate judgement and action the work that he is doing, and all in our power by understanding, sympathy and love to promote it—*Ut omnes unum sint*.

HENRY ST JOHN, O.P.

We have now devoted three articles to the C.S.I. The first in the Autumn issue 1954—'Comments on Two Reunion Plans'. Here we set forth an appraisal of the C.S.I. from three former Anglican clergymen taken from *Theology* (July 1954). In the Spring issue of this year we published a critical comment on the Constitution and Liturgy of the C.S.I. by Mr W. Grisbrooke, and here we give Fr Henry St John's review of the pamphlet, *The Church of South India and the Church* by Rev. D. Rea. All this should help our readers to gauge the value of this coming together of some Christian groups in South India in relation to the cause of Christian Unity. Here we think the matter can stay for the time being. We are, however, still willing to publish letters on the subject, but they must be short.—THE EDITOR.

THE SCHISM—SOLUTIONS AND PROBLEMS

THE change that has taken place in the received view of the schism between 1923, when Louis Bréhier's two chapters were published in the fourth volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and the publication of Steven Runciman's *The Eastern Schism* in 1955,¹ will be familiar to all readers of the *E.C.Q.* It may be useful to remind ourselves that the second of Bréhier's chapters was entitled 'Attempts at reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches'. In the traditional Western view all instances of *communio in sacris* after the crisis of 1054 were regarded either as anomalous survivals, or as reunion schemes resulting in the formation of Uniate Churches, permanently stabilized, as in the case of the Italo-Greeks, who were classified as Uniates in Dr Adrian Fortescue's posthumous book on *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (1923), the Ruthenians, and the Melkites, or transitory, like the unions of Lyons and Florence. Duchesne in *The Churches Separated from Rome* (Eng. trans. 1907)² reckoned up the number of years in which Rome and Constantinople were in a state of schism at 203 between 343 and 787, and would add four schisms of less certain duration, the second Iconoclast schism, the two schisms of Photius, and the one over the tetragamia of the Emperor Leo VI, before the final rupture of 1054. Not all historians troubled to go so far back, but all saw the final crisis as the culmination of a long divergence, henceforth to be regarded as a schism from the Church, not as insubordination within it.

In the modern view most of the earlier schisms between Rome and Constantinople have little relevance to the eventual divergence. None of them were between East and West. In the Iconoclast troubles, East and West were alike divided. In the Acacian schism of 484-518 a Western party, led for a time by the anti-Pope Laurentius, were in communion with Macedonius of Constantinople. Only one schism of Photius can be historically established, and many scholars would now maintain that his views on the Roman claims were exactly the same as those of the great majority of Byzantines, most respectful to Roman decisions when delivered with full knowledge and on the spot, but unwilling to admit the right

¹ Oxford Press.

² P. 110.

of Rome to pronounce on a Byzantine question at a distance, and therefore without adequate information. When Photius attacked the *filioque*, as he most certainly did, he was not in his own view attacking the Roman tradition, but a Frankish infiltration that might be penetrating into Rome, though so far the popes (with the exception, possibly, of his adversary Pope Nicholas) had set themselves firmly against additions to the text of the creed. The popes, with rare exceptions, which may be due to accidents, continued to be commemorated in the diptychs of the church of Constantinople until after the time of Pope John XVIII (1003-09). The problem for the historian is to discover first of all when and why this commemoration ceased, secondly the reason why this omission of a common courtesy led gradually to a complete schism between the subjects of both patriarchs, and thirdly to explore the circumstances in which this schism came to affect the other Eastern patriarchates.

Of these questions the first is still, it seems to me, unsolved. Mr Runciman tries to do justice to everyone's views. But in the matter of diptychs, he is so anxious to follow correct views of the proper procedures, that perhaps he ignores certain practical points. This is important, because not only does a great deal of our own information about the relationships of sees come directly from diptychs, but we may well suppose that many statements made by Byzantine writers were based on liturgical texts which in their own time were in use. The diptychs of the dead should be distinguished from those of the living. The first were very long, and there was every motive for their abbreviation in uncertain cases. All we really know is that John XVIII was the last pope who figured on Byzantine diptychs of the dead in the twelfth century, and that John XIX was not in the *Synodicon* of 1025 with the other patriarchs, though he was in correspondence with the Patriarch Eustathius in 1024. We also know that in 1051-54 Michael Cerularius believed that the omission of the pope's name from the diptychs was a custom of some standing, while Peter of Antioch held that it was recent, so far as Constantinople was concerned. At Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem the pope was still commemorated. But which pope, and by name or otherwise? In theory no doubt the patriarch should expect a systatic letter announcing the death of the last pope and the new pope's accession, together with a profession of faith for the emperor and the patriarch, before a name was transferred to

the diptychs of the dead and another appeared in the diptychs of the living. But if this did not happen, and the Byzantines heard from some pilgrim that the pope was no longer Benedict, but John or Boniface or Clement, what would they do about it? I am inclined to think that they would be reluctant to pray for a dead pope as living, unless his name was Benedict or John and they did not know his successor's name, in which case they might as well go on with the old one. So, it is said, at Antioch the pope was Benedict from 685 until 999, when the name was corrected to John. In some circumstances, I think, they might well pray for a patriarch whose systatic letter with his profession of faith had never arrived. In others they might not, if they had reason to suspect that he was reluctant to give an account of himself to the patriarch, or to the emperor, or to both.

The names of Gregory V and Sylvester II, before 1003–09, were not on the diptychs at Byzantium. Mr Runciman says 'presumably because of their German theology: but it may be that they never troubled to send a systatic letter. Sergius IV (1009–12) definitely sent a letter which was rejected.' I am not so sure of this. Firstly Gregory and Sylvester were foreigners, who did not reign for long. The first was certainly regarded as an anti-pope by the Byzantine party in Rome, who set up a rival, John Philagathus, commemorated in the Byzantine diptychs. As subjects of Otto III, they may well have been reluctant in any case to make a profession of faith before the Emperor Basil II, who might take advantage of it. Secondly, if Dvornik is right about the difficult problem of the text of Nicetas (of Nicaea or Maronea: see *The Photian Schism*, p. 394, *The Eastern Schism*, p. 33), the cause of the disagreement, whatever it was, between the Patriarch Sergius II and Pope Sergius IV, was unknown to his source, and this source seems to have been written before the Cerularian crisis. The reference to the *filioque* in another text, which Mr Runciman prefers, seems to me most easily explained as a later insertion by someone who found this ignorance baffling, and had at the same time engaged in researches into the reception of the *filioque* at Rome. He may have found the first reference to the singing of the creed at Mass in Berno's account of the coronation of Henry II in 1014.⁸ If he inferred, as modern writers do, that the *filioque* could not be omitted on such an occasion (in the presence of crowds of Germans from beyond the Alps) and that from that time the singing of the

⁸ P.L. 142 c. 1060–61.

creed became normal on feasts at Rome, he may naturally have connected the 'schism of the two Sergii' with the *filioque*. It seems to me much more likely that Basil II was offended at the neglect of popes after John XVIII, who were generally under some transalpine influence, to notify the imperial court of their accession in due form. I agree with Mr Runciman that the negotiations of 1024, which aroused resentment and alarm at Cluny and elsewhere, were probably more political than doctrinal, but not that the absence of the pope's name from the *Synodicon* of 1025 proves that John XIX 'withdrew his agreement', and the negotiations collapsed. The protests read to me as if they were made after the event. What is so dreadful is that the Greeks 'have obtained by asking the things which we have heard'.⁴ The pope's reply may not have arrived when the *Synodicon* was prepared, and in later diptychs of the dead the last two Johns, the last at Rome for many years, may well have been conflated. Whatever John's brother, Benedict IX (1032-48), a very secular character, may have done or omitted, the five transalpine popes who followed him were open to the same objections which the Byzantines and their Roman friends had made against Gregory V and Sylvester II. They also gave the papacy a new look.

It was this new look, in my opinion, that turned a coolness more than half political in origin, and not yet directed to any central doctrinal issue, into a schism which in the outcome proved obstinate and lasting. The point, I think, can be stated historically without any controversial implications. In four respects the popes from beyond the Alps were bound to disturb Byzantine feelings. If they did not themselves introduce the *filioque* into the Roman liturgy they were the first to treat it publicly as an integral part of the creed professed by the Roman Church, not simply as something allowed by her as orthodox. Secondly they and their friends waged a ceaseless war against married clergy, in which they took no account of distinctions between the Greek and the Latin disciplines, important in those regions where Greek and Latin churches were found side by side. Thirdly, they made full use of the enlarged version of the decretals and the Donation of Constantine, documents as yet little used at Rome, though regarded beyond the Alps as authentically Roman. It may be also that a good deal of 'authentically Roman' liturgical material reached Rome for the first time between 1046 and 1056. The reformers honestly believed that they were restoring primitive Roman

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 671.

uses, preserved in their versions of the Gelasian and Gregorian books, after a century and a half of decay and decadence. But their Romanism was made in Lorraine or thereabouts. Fourthly, and this much the most important, these popes took bolder initiatives in the affairs of the universal Church than any pope, except Nicholas I, since the days of Iconoclasm. Their perspective, however, was completely Western, bounded by the Norman dominions in the north of France and the south of Italy, and by the German on the frontiers of Christendom against the Prussian and the Slav. They knew little beyond.

Whatever may be our estimate of the change in the character of the papacy between Benedict IX, an almost wholly secular prince, who wished to dispose of his *spiritualia* for a lump sum to marry the girl of his choice, and Gregory VII, the great Hildebrand, elected little more than twenty-five years afterwards, we shall not deny that the change took place, and that the Byzantines failed to adjust themselves to it. It was not that they preferred bad popes to good ones, but that they did not know how to deal with popes who treated the other patriarchs as if they were Anglo-Saxon or German metropolitans too big for their boots. What they found hardest to comprehend was their attitude to the empire, and indeed to every form of secular power. In the West this was natural enough, where the kings were fighting chiefs, who had to be called to order by archbishops and bishops, and sternly reminded of their moral responsibilities, especially, but not exclusively, with regard to the exercise of their influence upon ecclesiastical appointments. In the East no one imagined that ecclesiastical persons, bishops, priests, or monks, had as such any special immunities from trial or imprisonment, though it was not uncommon to use the arbitration of the bishop in purely civil matters. In important ecclesiastical appointments, though proper forms were observed, the emperor's wishes had always been decisive, and so remained. In the Byzantine mind the idea of a general superiority of the *sacerdotium* over the *imperium* was incredible and unnatural.

In explaining this Mr Runciman makes much use of the writings of Anna Comnena, and indeed they are revealing, but I think he misunderstands her interpretation of the 28th canon of Chalcedon. She has, I think, two canons in mind, the one which established the patriarchate of Constantinople in 451, 'and subordinated to it all the bishoprics in the *Oecumene*' (she forgets conveniently that Illyricum and Greece were not

included until the eighth century, but there is little doubt that by the Œcumenê she means simply the empire as she knew it). The other is the older canon of 381 which gave 'the like rights of seniority' to Constantinople with, or after Rome. This, as she properly says, arose from the transfer of the seat of empire, 'the Senate and all the administration'. 'Ever since that time the emperors have given precedence'—seniority, the same word—to the see of Constantinople', but in Byzantine minds even as late as the time of Theodore Balsamon, that did not destroy the primacy of Rome. That primacy was in their eyes suspended, partly by an ill considered addition to the creed, partly by the new and extraordinary claim, from the Byzantine standpoint, of sacerdotal supremacy over the *imperium*, which gave an entirely new colour to the question of appeals to Rome. These before the second half of the eleventh century had been made, normally at least, by emperors in conflict with their patriarch. When they were made against the emperor and the patriarch, as they were by the Acoimetoï at the time of the Acacian schism, and by the Iconodules in the Iconoclast period, they could only be carried into effect by an emperor who agreed.

Mr Runciman has some interesting things to say about the extension of the schism to the other patriarchates, but there again I suspect that he takes diptychs too much *au pied de lettre*. The monks of Sinai, who lived in Egyptian territory, could not commemorate a Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. They therefore recognized shadowy patriarchs who sat in councils at Constantinople in 1157 and 1166, when the Emperor Manuel was striving by diplomatic and military means to obtain recognition for the Greek patriarch of Antioch from the Latin princes, who were for the time his military allies. In 1167, when the Greek Patriarch Athanasius was ruling in Antioch, Greek claims to Jerusalem were shelved for the moment. Soon afterwards Latins and Greeks joined in repairs to the Holy Places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, when the names of the emperor, the king of Jerusalem, and the local bishop, a Latin, appear in the same inscription. I do not think there is a sufficient evidence to infer the continuance of a line of Greek claimants, in Cyprus or Constantinople, from the death of the Patriarch Simeon in 1099 to the reappearance of a Greek patriarch in Jerusalem in or more likely after 1187, when the holy city was lost to the Latin kingdom. The schism between Greeks and Latins in Palestine should be placed after this, in Alexandria certainly

after 1190, the year of the correspondence between Mark of Alexandria and Theodore Balsamon on conditions of communion for Latins in Eastern churches, most probably after 1215, when the Patriarch Nicholas was represented at the council of the Lateran. The schism at Antioch on the other hand, dates from 1100, but it was of a kind that did not prevent the Latin authorities from receiving a Greek patriarch, not only in 1166, but as late as 1206. It was not therefore a straightforward schism between Greeks and Latins, but between pro- and anti-Latin parties among the Greeks and Syrians, in which on occasions the party opposed to the Latin patriarch might enlist the services of Latin nobles. Even the schism between Rome and Constantinople was of a kind that did not exclude communications of a spiritual sort between Greeks under the Latins in Italy and Greeks of the Byzantine patriarchate, or between the Latins in Constantinople and Mount Athos and the Greeks of the local churches.

Père Yves Congar in *Neuf cents ans après* (1954) has examined the implications of these changes in our conception of the schism, for 'a theological interpretation of the history itself, of the historical reality envisaged by the expression "the Eastern schism"'. As an Anglican and a historian, I am reluctant to comment in this place on his theological views, which I find most interesting. I have said something about them in *The Church Quarterly Review* for October 1955. I should, however, like to call attention to what seems to me his individual contribution to the solution of the historical question. It is a new idea, at least to me, that penance and purgatory are as important as the *filioque*:

The fact is that the word satisfaction has scarcely any place (n'est pas, ou guère) in the Greek vocabulary, and that the Latins on the other hand, after translating *metanoia* by *poenitentia*, have often drawn together *poenitentia* with *poena* and have developed their thought in the direction of the idea of works of penitence and satisfaction. (Pp. 35-36.)

He adds in a note:

I believe for my part that this point is very important, and marks the real difference between Eastern thought and our own.

So far as I can remember the question of purgatory did not come up directly in controversy before the thirteenth century, but if this theological analysis is correct, it throws a good deal of light on the sensitiveness of the Byzantines to changes in the conception of church authority which came in with the

great Latin canonists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who were concerned above all to establish what is in force and will be maintained by the sanctions of penance and excommunication, while Byzantine canonists were still content to comment on early collections. In their eyes the Latins had broken the ancient canons. In the Latin view the Greeks had rejected the power of the keys in St Peter's successor.

I should like to close by referring to two papers⁵ by a Melkite Syrian, the Archimandrite Oreste Kerame, stationed in Cairo. The theme of the first is to defend the allegiance of his community to Byzantine religious culture—something that, to coin a word, we may call their Roumanity. The second maintains that the tension between the claims of the pope and of the bishops is older than any schism between East and West. The claims of Constantinople had nothing to do with its beginnings, and rather helped to hold it in check. In fact Rome and the New Rome had, and still have, something in common, in contrast with other churches in East and West who have been more particularist, less aware of œcumenical responsibilities.

Nothing in the world, however mad they will be if you tell them so—despite some obvious differences—nothing in the world resembles an Italian more than a Greek. If there is no Latinism without Hellenism, neither is there any Hellenism, Christian, modern Hellenism, without the Rome of the baptized emperors.

There is no Hellenism without Roumanity. So, in popular parlance, all Christians of the Byzantine rite, including Arabophone Orthodox and Arab Melkites in communion with Rome, are *Ronaioi, Rum*.

This is, I think, very perceptive, and historically very important. The real alienation between 1046 (the Synod of Sutri and the coming of the Germans to Rome) and 1204 (the Fourth Crusade) is of the Roman Church from the Roman Empire. The history has been obscured, for us in the West, by the legend of the translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Germans, but nothing like this really happened in 800, or in 962 when Otto the Great was crowned. The imperial crown of the West was a dignity, not an office, bestowed by popes upon their potential protectors. Not until after the revival of the study of Roman law (stimulated by the

⁵ *Notre vocation, et notre ame, de Chrétiens d'orient, and Constantinople et le Grand Schisme Chrétien*, both from 'Le Lien', 165 Av. Malika, Cairo, and 'Le Bulletin', Patriarcat Grec-Catholique, Alexandria.

researches of the canonists) did Western emperors and kings begin to model their acts on Cæsar's. When those who called themselves emperors were led in this direction, they aspired, like Henry VI, to reign at Byzantium, or, like Frederick II, to ally with the Greeks of Nicaea against the imperial claims of the pope-emperor. In the attempt to make a reality of imperial rule over Roman (Byzantine) Italy, the Romagna in its narrower and in its wider sense, they became involved in the same conflict with papal claims to jurisdiction over the *imperium*, that produced the schism of East and West. The Byzantine objection, right or wrong, to 'Papism', was fundamentally one with the Ghibelline, an objection to the union of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, of authority on earth with authority in the other world of hell, purgatory, and heaven. Dante, as he paced the aisles of Byzantine churches at Ravenna, meditating on the faces of Justinian and Theodora, came as near as anyone has ever done to seeing both sides of the question, not only in the politics of the Church, the State, and the School (if Gilson be right),* but in purgatory as well.

GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M.

THE ROYAL AND SACRED MONASTERY OF THE ALL-HOLY LADY OF SOUMELA IN PONTUS (ASIA MINOR)

ACCORDING to a pious tradition of the Eastern Church, the physician and theologian Luke was also a painter of portraits. From the first centuries of Christian predominance, the Evangelist Luke was considered as the first eikon-painter *par excellence* of the Theotokos Mary. The principal portrait paintings of the All-holy Lady which are attributed to St Luke, are produced with wax and mastic. Those which have been preserved till to-day, and which are recognized by the Church as authentic works of the Evangelist, are as follows :

(a) The eikon of the monastery of the Megalon Spêlaion of Kalabrytai in northern Greece, commonly called 'Megalospêliôtissa'.

* See *Dante the Philosopher*. Père Congar's paper is part of the *feestschrift* for Dom Beauduin, published in 1955 by éditions de Chevetogne, and called *L'Eglise et Les Eglises* (in two volumes).

(b) The eikon of the royal and sacred monastery of the mountain Soumela in Pontus, known as 'Soumeliôtissa'.

(c) The eikon of the monastery of Kykkos in Cyprus, called 'Kykkôtissa'.¹

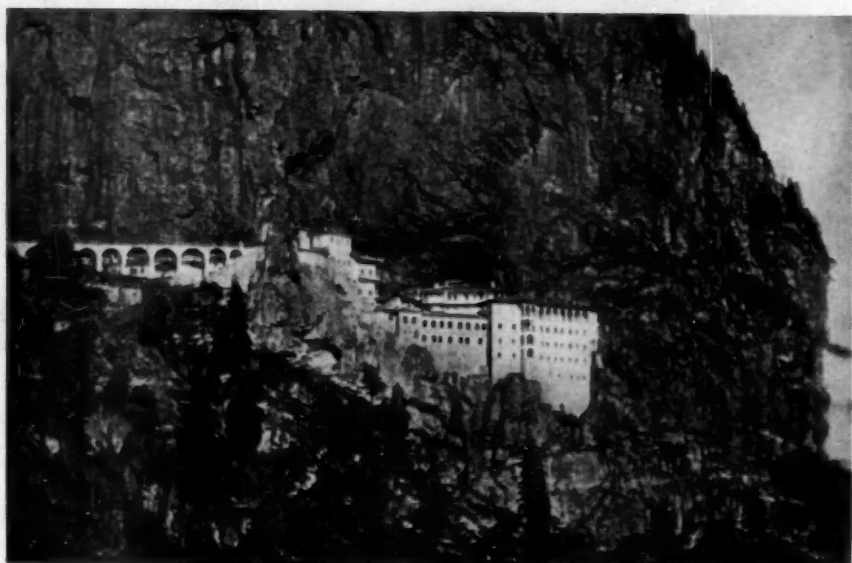
A.D. 386 Byzantium is the religious centre of Eastern Christianity and a tower of strength for the Faith in a world still in part pagan. The splendour and glory of Theodosius the Great sheds lustre on this century.

At Athens, at this period, there lived two saintly monks, Barnabas and his nephew Sophronius. One peaceful night, a heavenly vision aroused Barnabas from his sleep. The All-holy Lady of Athens appeared to him—the inseparable phylactery of the Evangelist Luke—and urged him to journey with his nephew, by way of the city of Thebes, to the East, to the cradle of religions, to the blessed soil of the New Faith, taking with them her eikon. The divine command to Barnabas is clear—to undertake a journey to the eternal East; and the two monks, as if upborne by wings, set out on their journey, having as guide the Hodêgetria (She who guides), who suspended in the air was gently wafted towards the East. They journeyed on through Thessalonica, Marônaia, Rhaidestos to Byzantium, and thence, without halting, into Pontus, where, on the lofty summit of the mountain Mela (1320 metres above sea-level) which overlooks the city of Trebizond (Trapezous), they enthroned the eikon of the All-holy Lady of Athens. Here, later, there was built at the expense of the emperors of Byzantium the patriarchal and stauropêgiac monastery the All-holy Lady of Soumela. The expression 'eis to Mela' became 'stou Mela' and eventually 'Soumela'.

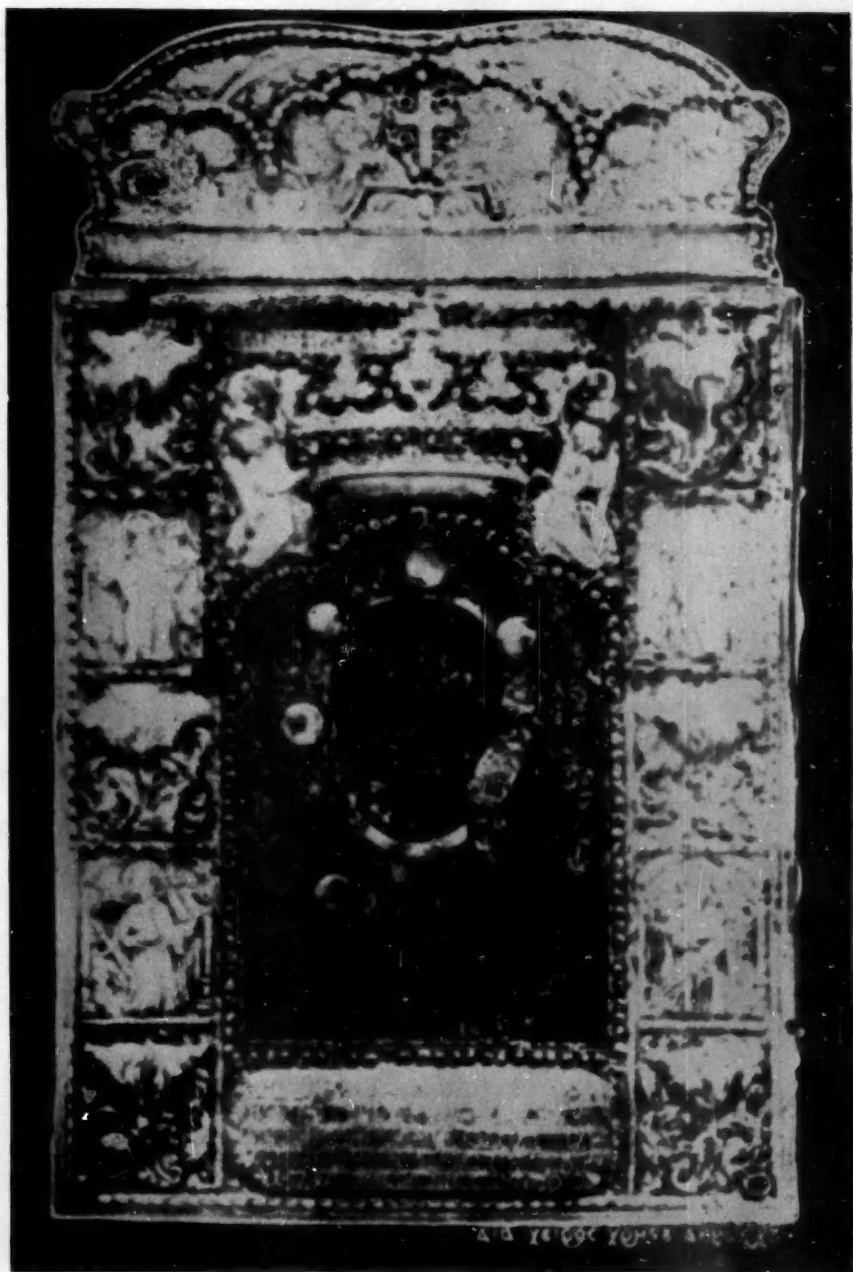
The bishop of Trebizond himself performed the consecration service in the presence of the governor Augustalius Kourtikius, representative of the Emperor Theodosius, and of thousands of people from the district of Pontus. From then on, and for sixteen centuries, the eikon of the All-holy Lady remained at Soumela, blessing and protecting the Christian people. Imperial chrysobulla, patriarchal sigilla, firmans of sultans, orders of governors, and ukases of tsars protected and guarded the rights of the royal and sacred monastery.

The Monastery was built in the form of a fortress and in the architectural style of the ancient monasteries of the Byzantine empire. Destroyed by fire, the ancient church and monastery

¹ Cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester 'The Principal Orthodox Monasteries in Cyprus' in *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 307-09.



THE MONASTERY



THE EIKON OF OUR LADY OF SOUMELA

Monastery of the All-Holy Lady of Soumela 315

were finally rebuilt in A.D. 644, and they remained intact until the catastrophe of A.D. 1922.

The Comnenian emperors from John II to the last of the dynasty, David of Trebizond, displayed great reverence for the Theotokos, protecting and endowing her venerable tabernacle at Soumela. In order to protect the monastery of Soumela against incursions of the barbarians, the emperor Alexis III (A.D. 1195-1203) established a permanent guard of forty picked men, restored again the whole monastery, built new towers and cells, and endowed it with the income of forty villages together with the wealth of their properties. The sacred brotherhood, as a mark of gratitude, inscribed above the door of the cathedral church of the Dormition of the Theotokos, the name of the donor: 'Alexis Comnenus, the founder, has produced the church of this monastery . . .' and this inscription survived until the year A.D. 1650.

Solemnities and festivities took place in the land on 15th August of every year, a veritable Christian Pontic Panathenaea, in honour of the Parthenos Theotokos, and at this festival, the whole of Pontus was bathed in the drops which trickled from the fissures of the cave of the monastery, just as, in ancient times, Hera the Goddess bathed periodically in the spring, that she might recover her virginity.

In the library of this monastery there was discovered a manuscript of the Epic of Digenes Akritas,³ and in the sacristy there were guarded as deposits, two sacred and precious objects: the Gospel Book of St Christophorus written on parchment in the year A.D. 644, and a most precious hand-cross used for giving blessings, which was presented to the monastery by the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (A.D. 1143-80).

A.D. 1461. Years of bitterness and trials! Constantinople has fallen, Byzantium is extinguished, and Trebizond (Trapezous), the last support of the Comneni has been lost!

The Christians, a little flock without a national shepherd, gather with faith and hope round the sacred fortress of the Mother of God, and await the days of salvation. The miracles of the wonder-working august eikon of the Theotokos spread over the whole district of Pontus and of Asia Minor as well, and they even subdue the insatiable greed of the conquerors.

A.D. 1512. The Sultan Selim I (A.D. 1512-20), the haughty monarch, comes as a pilgrim to the monastery, and respectful

³ For the Trebizond version of this Epic, cf. C. Sathas and E. Legrand, *Les Exploits de Digènes Akritas*, Paris, 1875. For a synopsis of this Epic, cf. N. H. Baynes and H. St L. B. Moss, *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1949, pp. 245-7.

of the Mother of Christ, confirms the imperial privileges of the shrine, and presents five massive lamps and offers to re-cover the roof of the catholicon of the monastery with silver. Finally, at the entreaty of the monks who realized the danger to which they would be exposed from thieves, the Sultan agrees to re-cover the dome of the church with copper. The Sultans Ibrahim I (A.D. 1640-48), Sulaiman II A.D. 1678-91), and Mekhmet III (A.D. 1730-54) showed the same reverence for this monastery.

A.D. 1921. The dreams, expectations and rights of the Christians in Asia Minor are finally extinguished on the Quay of Smyrna. Then took place the tragic march to Anatolia of thousands of captives of the little flock of the Seven Stars of the Apocalypse.³ The Theotokos from the summit of the mountain Mela changes into 'Dakyrroousa' (She who sheds tears), for she weeps continually over the numberless graves of her children. Days of suffering and calamity, and at length, shouting with joy, the victors rush to the Sacred Cave, and with dynamite blow up from its foundations the most sacred Shrine of Pontus, but not before the monks had time to bury in an iron box the miraculous eikon and the two treasures preserved in the sacristy.

A.D. 1931. Ismet Inonou stretches out a hand of reconciliation to Athens. The Metropolitan Chrysanthus of Trebizond (Trapezous) begs him to allow the treasure of the Monastery of the All-holy Lady of Soumela to be returned to Greece. Ambrose, a surviving monk of the monastery, is allowed by the Turkish government to go to the ruins of the monastery, and there he unearths the iron box with its treasures. With regal honours the eikon of the All-holy Lady of Soumela returns with the two other treasures to Athens, her former home.

A.D. 1951. Once more the piety of the Christians of Pontus has created a new home for this wonder-working eikon of the Mother of God, and this time in northern Greece, at Kastania Berroia in Macedonia. Here, upon a new height which recalls the wild and natural beauty of the mountain Mela, there now stands a new sanctuary of the Theotokos, the new royal and sacred monastery of the All-holy Lady of Soumela, as a sanctification for the whole Christian flock of Greece.

CYPRIAN PAPADOPOULOS, *Archimandrite*.

³ Cf. *Apocalypse* i, 20.

ECUMENICAL COMMENT

A WHOLE network of relations between individual Catholics and the oecumenical movement has grown up in the last few years. There is a considerable mass of literature from which to select. It is notable that the World Council of Churches continues to welcome and take note of every gesture of sympathy that comes from the Catholic side. So used have their members become to a Catholic attitude concerned exclusively with juridical unity that the Council and its officers might well have been excused for regarding individual Catholic essays as mere decoys to lure individual converts. *Unitas*, the official Catholic organization established in Rome to deal with these matters, has of course, always felt itself obliged to insist that there is no alternative to individual submission once a non-Catholic has become convinced of the validity of Catholic claims. But there still remains a great deal of room for theological speculation in ecclesiology, and an almost immeasurable area for work in increasing our understanding of non-Catholic Christianity. We are beginning to move into these areas and undertake this work.

A recognition of this fact was contained in the January 1956 number of *The Ecumenical Review* where Visser 't Hooft, the Secretary of the World Council, discusses recent Catholic writing on œcumenical subjects. His second paragraph will help us to understand the non-Catholic reaction to our attitude :

'It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic writers, practically without exception, concentrate all their attention on issues of Faith and Order. For them the one and only œcumenical issue is the issue of the full unity of the Church in doctrine, in sacraments, in ministry. This is not astonishing from their point of view and is in many ways a healthy challenge to the churches of the World Council of Churches, which need to be reminded that the issues of Faith and Order are indeed the decisive issues. But it has the great disadvantage that the Roman Catholic œcumenists do not see the œcumenical movement as a whole and do not appreciate sufficiently that in the World Council matters of Faith and Order are discussed in the framework of a wider œcumenical process. To understand the significance of the World Council one must not only ask what specific progress is made to arrive at greater doctrinal agreement, one must at the same time watch to what extent the

participating Churches are in fact engaged in a process of spiritual cross-fertilization, to what extent their life is renewed through more intimate contacts with other churches, to what extent they learn to render a common witness to the world. It might be that we are in a period of œcumenical history in which the churches have to learn to live together and to grow together before they can take far-reaching steps in the realm of actual reunion.

Fair enough. There is an acknowledgement of the help we do give by providing an objective standard of doctrine about the unity of the Church, and a criticism of our lack of understanding on the historical level. It is precisely this historical understanding which is found so markedly in that theologian whom I am so fond of recommending. In Père Yve Congar's two works *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Eglise* and in his *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc* we have an approach to ecclesiology which shows how the principle emphasis of our own theologians differs markedly from one time to another. Père Congar proves his point quite clearly that until the last twenty years our sense of communion with each other as Catholics, our *Catholicisme horizontale*, had suffered gravely for centuries under the overemphasis (in the countering of Protestant theology about the Church) on communion with the central authority, *Catholicisme verticale*. He insists that we are not really justifying or understanding fully our formal membership of the Church unless we follow it out by knowing and loving our brother Catholics the world over. Analogically we would certainly do well to realize that the non-Catholic churches are as yet not very far beyond the stage of merely getting acquainted with each other.

The same sort of truth about Catholic membership is expressed by an American theologian quoted by E. R. Hardy in an article 'Evanston Revisited' in the August *Theology*. He refers to Professor Joseph Clifford Fenton (writing in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* 1954): 'Catholics must be reminded that mere membership in the Church, which is the *adelphotes*, does not constitute and guarantee that the life of the brotherhood, the life of sanctifying grace, is actually being lived. It is unfortunately possible to be, in this world, *in statu viae*, a member of the supernatural brotherhood in Christ and at the same time to live in a way utterly unworthy of that brotherhood.' Hardy suggests: 'Is not the frank recognition of this distressing fact a close approach to what was intended by the statement, which some have found puzzling, in the

Faith and Order Section of the Evanston Report that the Church like the Christian is *simul justus et peccator*? I referred in detail to this a year ago. And again it seems essential for us to distinguish between the Church in the ideal and essential sense of the Bride of Christ, or of his Mystical Body, and the Church in the sense of the human members of the Church militant on earth. We shall not then confuse delight in our Holy Mother Church, praise of the perfect Bride of Christ, with complacency about the actual operation of the Church on earth by its individual members.

This point is all the more important now that a larger and larger number of the Church's members are literate and become formally capable of taking part in the discovery of the Church's mind, in the deeper penetration of doctrine, in the conscious development of the Church's life till the end of time. It seems reasonable to ask, in passing, whether a gradual change in attitude to doctrine will not have to be experienced by the laity in general. The traditional theological approach to truth has been that we can never grasp it perfectly; it is the task of those who are able to do so to try to understand God's revelation ever more perfectly. But the great majority of Christians have not consciously taken part in this intellectual exploration. They have simply been the Church taught. In our more literate age the result has been that great numbers of people have come to confuse the truth with a series of doctrinal formulas, to learn which is considered the way to be a well instructed Christian. A relatively uneducated or illiterate person retains a sense of mystery in the face of these formulas, but the newly educated tend to be misled by them and to suppose that they are the consummation of the gospel. May we not have to extend the conception of the *Ecclesia docens* so that the layman no longer thinks exclusively in terms of going to a 'theologian' for the right formula when he wants the answer to a problem. Must we not begin to mould his attitude so that he at least thinks in terms of co-operating with the theologian in the deeper penetration of doctrine?

Returning to Visser t'Hooft's article, we note his reference to *Histoire doctrinale du mouvement œcuménique* by Chanoine Gustave Thils of Louvain, perhaps the most important Catholic work to be published in the sphere of Catholic œcumenism in the last few years. Visser 't Hooft criticizes it for its attempt to discover a 'theology' or an 'ecclesiology' in the documents of the World Council. He insists that there

is no such thing, properly speaking. But beyond this criticism he salutes the book as a considerable advance from the Catholic side. Certainly it is important. Amongst other conclusions Thils considers that we cannot rule out the possibility of eventual regular participation by Catholics in the work of the World Council of Churches. Their position would, doctrinally, be identical with that of the Orthodox Churches who participate, and they would have to make the same reservations whenever doctrines of the nature of the Church were broached. He thinks the situation could not warrant such participation at the moment, but he sees the possibility that the World Council will develop its doctrinal attitude to such an extent that it would be able to admit at least the possibility that the Catholic answer might be right.

Visser 't Hooft quotes with a certain glee a remark of a German Catholic theologian, Kösters (though not giving context or reference), that the doctrine of the Church was 'in a pre-theological stage'. It is with ecclesiology that Thils is primarily concerned. He goes over, rather more thoroughly than has been done before, and with certain developments, the theories of the relation of non-Catholic Christians to the Catholic Church; much of the second half of the book is on this point. At the end of his book he picks out a few *points d'application*, points at which he seems to think our own theology or Protestant theology can easily be developed so as to afford both greater clarity and a great area of agreement. He singles out the themes of faith, grace, the Eucharist, the creedal standards, tradition.

Thils's book is mentioned yet again in a recent booklet *The Church of South India and the Church*, which examines the faith and order of the Church of South India in the light of recent Catholic ecclesiology. This is a remarkable work and a sure sign of the more vital relationship that has arisen in the last few years. The author is uncompromisingly Anglican, but he has taken great trouble to read and understand the Catholic position. Thils he considers could with advantage pay more attention to the idea of the Church as sacrament, and to the arguments of Dom J. Gibomont. This pamphlet is typical of the bridges which are now being built across the chasm which divides the Protestant and Catholic ecclesiologies.

JOHN M. TODD.

RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE COPTIC CHURCH

PART XI

HOLY WEEK SERVICES AND CEREMONIES

THE SATURDAY OF LAZARUS AND PALM SUNDAY

THE week preceding Easter Sunday is termed the Week of the Sufferings, and the book which contains the services which are held during this week is called the Book of the Holy Paskha. This week begins with the Midnight Hour of the Saturday before Palm Sunday, which is said on Saturday at dawn. As in the Greek Church, this Saturday is termed the Saturday of Lazarus, and the chants and the Gospel commemorate the raising of Lazarus. In the afternoon, palm branches and olive branches are cut and fashioned into the shape of a cross on which candles are placed and subsequently lighted. Then, if it be the Patriarchal Church or a Cathedral, the clergy proceed in procession to the Cell of the patriarch or of the bishop, wearing their vestments and carrying censers. The deacons carry candles in their hands, and they chant before the patriarch or the bishop: *'Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord, etc.'* to the tone of Palm Sunday, until they come to the choir of the church. Then there are said the 9th, 11th and 12th Hours, and in the Monasteries also the Prayer of the Veil (Compline).

PALM SUNDAY

At dawn, there is recited the Midnight Hour, and the Hymnology is sung which is followed by the Morning Offering of Incense. This service is conducted in the usual manner up to, but not including the Psalm-Versicle before the reading of the Gospel. At this point in the service there takes place the procession with the palms and the reading of the twelve Gospels.¹ After the procession there is recited the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps. lxvii, 20**, *36* + Alleluia*, and the Gospel: *Luke xix, 1-10*. Then the Morning Offering of Incense continues in the usual manner. At the hour of the Divine Liturgy, if it be the Patriarchal Church or a Cathedral, the clergy with censers in their hands, and the deacons carrying candles, Gospels and palm branches and olive branches, go out to receive the patriarch or the bishop on his arrival at the church door, and they chant before him: *'Hosanna to the Son*

¹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. XI, pp 285-88.

of David, etc.' until they come to the sanctuary. Then the Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the usual manner. Pauline Epistle: *Hebrews ix*, 11-28; Catholic Epistle: *I Peter iv*, 1-11; *Acts xxviii*, 11-31. Then there is chanted to the tone of Palm Sunday and to the accompaniment of cymbals: 'He Who sitteth upon the Cherubim, etc.' and 'The Cherubim worship Him, etc.'² and the Trisagion. Then there is said the Prayer of the Gospel and the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps. lxxx*, 4, 2-3 + Alleluia. If, however, the Patriarch be present, there is said *Ps. cvi*, 32, 41*; *Ps. cix*, 4 + Alleluia. Then there is read the first Gospel: *Matthew xxi*, 1-17, and the Response of the Gospel: 'Hosanna to the Son of David, etc.' and the second Gospel: *Mark xi*, 1-11, and the Response of the Gospel: 'Hosanna in the highest, etc.' and the third Gospel: *Luke xix*, 29-48, and the Response of the Gospel: 'Hosanna to the King of Israel, etc.' Then the priest shall say the Prayer of the Gospel for the fourth Gospel, and the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps. lxiv*, 2; *Ps. lxxx*, 2-3 + Alleluia shall be sung. If the Patriarch or a bishop be present, it is he who shall read the fourth Gospel: *John xii*, 12-19. Then shall be sung the Response of the Gospel: 'He Who sitteth upon the Cherubim, etc.' The Anaphora shall be that of St Gregory³ or of St Basil, according to the custom of the church. The Hymn of the Aspasmos is: 'Christ our Saviour in great humility, etc.' After the singing of the *Psalm cl* and the verse: 'Blessed be God the Father, etc.' at the Holy Communion, there shall be said the Office for the Dead for those who may die during Holy Week, and this office forms the 9th Hour of Palm Sunday.

OFFICE FOR THE DEAD

From the Monday of Holy Week until the Morning Offering of Incense on Holy Saturday, prayers for the dead with the offering of incense are not said, nor, indeed, is the usual burial service at which incense is used, performed, since incense is not used during Holy Week, except on Maundy Thursday, at the 6th, 9th, and 12th Hours of Good Friday, and on Holy Saturday. For the special form of the Burial Service to be used in Holy Week, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 256-7.

There is said in the mourning tone: 'For the resurrection of the dead who have fallen asleep (and) rest in the faith of Christ, Lord, give rest to all their souls'. Then again in the mourning tone: 'Paul, a servant of our Lord Jesus Christ,

² For the words of this chant, cf. *Kitāb Rutbat al-Ihlāl al-Gallī* (Book of the Order of the Glorious Crowning), Cairo 1887-8, p. 66.

³ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 1.

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the elect *Apostle*, who was appointed to announce the good news of God'. Pauline Epistle : *I Corinth.* xv, 1-23*. Then there is said the Prayer of the Gospel, the Psalm-Versicle : *Ps.* lxiv, 5* ; *Ps.* cxiv, 7-9 + Alleluia, and the Gospel : *John* v, 19-29. After the priest has finished administering the Holy Communion, he washes the vessels and his hands, but he does not pronounce the Dismissal. He shall, however, come down from the sanctuary, and he shall draw the curtain which is before the door of the sanctuary. Then he shall say the Three Great Prayers,⁴ and the Creed shall be said. After this shall be said the Prayer for the Dead and the Lord's Prayer, and then the Priest shall say the Three Dismissals.⁵ After this, lifting up the Cross he shall say : 'God, be merciful to us, etc.' and the people shall respond twelve times with '*Kyrie eleison*'. Then, when the Lahn 'King of Peace, etc.' has been recited, the priest shall pronounce the Blessing of Holy Week which is as follows : 'May Jesus Christ our True God Who accepted sufferings of His own will, and was hanged on the Cross for our sake, bless us with all spiritual blessings and assist us to accomplish the Holy Pascha, and show to us the joy of His Holy Resurrection for many years and in peaceful times, through the prayers, etc.' ending with 'and the blessing of the Holy Pascha of our good Saviour, etc.'⁶

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE CHURCH FOR HOLY WEEK

The lectern and the candelabrum⁷ are removed from the choir into the nave of the church, and the lectern is covered with a black cloth. The door of the sanctuary is closed and the curtain before it, which should be of black colour, or of some dark hue, is drawn. As has already been stated, incense is not used at any of the Hours of Holy Week, with the exception, however, of the 6th, 9th, and 12th Hours of Good Friday. Liturgically, the day begins at sunset, and hence the ensuing night is the first part of the day. This period is here termed the eve, and the Hours appointed for it are called the Hours of the Eve. For each day of Holy Week there are five Hours of the Eve, namely, the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour, and five Hours of the day itself, namely Morning Prayer, the 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour. On Maundy Thursday and on Holy Saturday the Service of Morning Prayer is replaced by that of

* Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 395.

* Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 395-6.

* Cf. *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt* (Book of the Three Anaphorae), Cairo, 1936, pp. 94-95.

⁷ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 381.

the Morning Offering of Incense, since on these two days the Divine Liturgy is celebrated. On Holy Saturday there is added before the Morning Offering of Incense the Service of the Hymnology. According to the rubrics there should be read at Morning Prayer the entire Gospel of St Matthew on Tuesday, the entire Gospel of St Mark on Wednesday, and the entire Gospel of St Luke on Thursday (at Morning Offering of Incense), however, in practice, this is neglected. On Maundy Thursday, the Service of Footwashing⁸ is performed after the 9th Hour of the day, and on Good Friday there is added a 12th Hour of the day at the end of which the Service of the Burial of Christ takes place. On Holy Saturday the Hours of the Eve are replaced by the reading of the entire Psalter and of *Daniel* iii, 1-97 and xiii, 1-64.⁹ At the conclusion of the 6th Hour of the day there takes place the ceremonial reading of the entire Book of the Apocalypse, and at the conclusion of the 9th Hour the Divine Liturgy is celebrated. On the Eve of Easter Sunday there is read, first of all, the entire Gospel of St John, and then such of the Lessons from the Old Testament as were not read during the administration of the Holy Communion at the Divine Liturgy of Holy Saturday. After this there follows the Midnight Hour and the Morning Offering of Incense and the Divine Liturgy of Easter Day. In towns, the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour of the Eve are performed at about 4 p.m., and the Morning Prayer, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour of the day are performed about 8 a.m. However, in villages, these times are somewhat earlier, and in the monasteries the Hours are performed at their appointed times.

As an example of the Hours of Holy Week there is given below a synopsis of the Morning Prayer of the Wednesday of Holy Week.

MORNING PRAYER OF THE WEDNESDAY OF HOLY WEEK

The candle on the candelabrum is lighted, and the priest begins: 'In the Name of the Father, etc. The Morning Prayer of the Wednesday of the Holy Pascha, may its blessing be upon us. Amen.' Then: 'From the *Exodus* of Moses the *Prophet*, may his holy blessing be with us. Amen.' Then there is read *Exodus* xvii, 1-7, at the end of which there is said: 'Glory to the Holy *Trinity* our God for ever, and unto the age

⁸ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 311-14.

⁹ Numeration according to the Septuagint Version.

of all the ages. Amen'.¹⁰ 'From the *Proverbs* of Solomon, etc.', *Proverbs* iii, 5-15*, at the end of which there is said: 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, etc.' 'From Hosea the *Prophet*, etc.', *Hosea* v, 13*-vi, 3, at the end of which is said: 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, etc.'¹¹ Then the priest says: 'Alleluia. In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. *Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Lord bless. Amen. Glory be to the Father*, etc. Make us worthy to say with thanksgiving: Our Father Who art in the heavens, etc.', ending with the words 'through Christ Jesus our Lord'. Then the priest says: 'The Hymn of the Morning Prayer of the Wednesday of the Holy Pascha I offer unto Christ, my King and my God, and I beseech Him to forgive me my sins'. The singers now form themselves into two choirs, each of which repeats six times the following: 'Thine is the power and the glory and the blessing and the might unto the age. Amen. Emmanuel our God and our King, Thine is the power, etc. My Lord Jesus Christ, my *good Saviour*, Thine is the power, etc. (as far as "Amen"). Make us worthy to say with thanksgiving: Our Father Who art in the heavens, etc.' Then the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps.* l, 6*; *Ps.* xxxii, 10* + Alleluia, and 'That we may be worthy to bear the Holy Gospel, let us entreat our Lord and God. Stand (and attend) with wisdom. Let us bear the Holy Gospel'. 'A reading of the Holy Gospel according to': *John* xi, 46-57. Then the Gospel is read again in Arabic, after which the priest and the singers say: 'In the Name of the *Consubstantial Trinity*, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The true Light which enlighteneth every man who cometh into the world.'¹² Then there is sung the following *Tarḥ*: 'The Pharisees assembled together, and they said to one another: What shall we do? etc.'¹³ At the end there is added the Response¹⁴: 'Christ our *Saviour* came, He suffered, etc.'¹⁵ Then the priest says: 'Let us bend our knees'. The choir responds: 'Have mercy upon us, God the Father the *Almighty*'. The priest: 'Let us arise: let us bend our knees'. The choir: 'Have mercy upon us, God our

¹⁰ At the ending of the reading of these Lessons in Arabic there is said in place of 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, etc.' the following: 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and at all times and unto the age of the ages. Amen.'

¹¹ It is now usually the custom to read the Old Testament Lessons of each Hour of the eve all together at the 1st Hour of the Eve.

¹² At the Hours of the Eve there is sung in place of 'The true Light, etc.' 'Hail to thee, Mary, the beautiful dove, who hath borne for us God the Word, etc.'

¹³ Cf. *Kiṭāb Ṭurūḥāt al-Muqāddasah*, Cairo, 1914, pp. 131-4.

¹⁴ This is termed in Coptic 'Lōbsh'.

¹⁵ Cf. *Kiṭāb Ṭurūḥāt*, etc., p. 21.

Saviour'. The priest: '*Let us arise: let us bend our knees*'. The choir: '*Have mercy upon us, God, and have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy.*' Then the following intercessions: '*Pray that God have mercy upon us, etc.*' The choir: '*Kyrie eleison*'.¹⁶ '*Pray for the peace of the One, Only, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church, etc.*'¹⁷ '*Pray for our fathers and our brethren who are sick, etc.*' The remaining intercessions all begin with the words: '*Entreat and pray*': '*For our fathers and our brethren who are on travel, etc.*' '*For the airs of the heaven and the fruits of the earth, etc.*' '*That God grant to us mercy and compassion before the ruling powers, etc.*' '*For our fathers and our brethren who have fallen asleep, etc.*' '*For those who have provided the sacrifices, etc.*' '*For the catechumens of our people, etc.*' '*For this place and every place, etc.*' '*For the life and establishment of our honoured father, the Archbishop, the lord father, the Patriarch, Abba N., etc.*' '*For our fathers, the Orthodox metropolitans and bishops, etc.*' '*For our congregations and all congregations of Orthodox people, etc.*' '*For the management of this holy church, etc.*' '*For all who toil in the Holy Church, etc.*' '*For the Christ-loving rulers, etc.*' '*For the poor, the peasants, the weak, etc.*' '*For those who are confined in prison, etc.*' '*For all who are assembled with us, etc.*' '*For those whom we are bidden to remember, etc.*' '*For the rise of the river, etc.*' '*For the Holy Pascha, etc.*' Then the priest says: '*God have mercy upon us, etc.*' to which the choir responds in the tone of the Pascha '*Kyrie eleison*' twelve times. Then there is sung: '*King of peace, grant unto us Thy peace, etc.*'¹⁸ during which the priest says silently the blessing of Holy Week: '*May Jesus Christ our true God, etc.*'¹⁹

MAUNDY THURSDAY

On this day there is celebrated the Service of the Morning Offering of Incense, but, as is shewn below, it is somewhat different from the usual form of this Service. It commences about 7 a.m., and, the door of the sanctuary having been opened, the senior priest begins to read the Lesson from the Old Testament: *Exodus xvii*, 8-15. Then there is said: '*Thine is the power, etc.*' twelve times,²⁰ and after this the priest says:

¹⁶ The *Kyrie eleison* is repeated after each clause of these intercessions.

¹⁷ From here onwards the petitions of these intercessions are said in Arabic. For the Coptic text of these petitions, cf. *MS. Lit.* 298, foll. 1 v-7r Coptic Museum, Cairo (*MS.* of fifteenth century).

¹⁸ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 629.

¹⁹ Cf. page 323.

²⁰ Cf. page 325.

'Have mercy upon us, etc., Our Father Who art in the heavens, etc., We worship Thee, O Christ, etc., Bless me, etc., and Pray'. The deacon shall say: '*Stand for prayer*', and the priest shall say: '*Peace be to all*' to which the people shall respond: '*And with thy spirit*'.²¹ Then the priest shall say the Prayer of Thanksgiving,²² and the people shall sing: 'We worship the Father, etc.'²³ and *Psalm* I. After this, the priest shall say the Prayer for the Sick²⁴ and the Prayer for the Sacrifices,²⁵ and then there shall be sung the Hymn of the Angels,²⁶ and what is appointed from the Doxologies of the Holy Virgin Mary, of the Angels, of the Apostles, of the Martyrs, and of the Saints: 'The adornment of Mary in the heavens above, etc.'²⁷ In the meanwhile, the priest shall go round the church incensing, but he shall not give the kiss to anyone.²⁸ After this, there shall be said the Creed as far as the words 'and became Man', and it is then continued to the end from the words 'Yea, we believe in the Holy Spirit, etc.' Then the priest shall lift up the Cross, and shall say: 'God, be merciful to us, etc.'²⁹ and the people shall respond with '*Kyrie eleison*' to the accompaniment of cymbals. Then there shall be sung: 'Who offered Himself up as an acceptable sacrifice, etc.'³⁰ and 'Blessed art Thou in truth, etc.'³¹ After this, one of the priests or the deacons shall read from the ambon, in the mourning tone, the Epistle: *Acts* i, 15-20. Then there shall be sung the Greek Hymn: '*Judas, Judas, the lawless one, etc.*'³² and after this the Trisagion, at the third clause of which, however, there shall be sung the addition to the second clause, namely, '*Who wast crucified for us*'. After this, the priest shall say the Prayer of the Gospel,³³ and there shall be sung the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps.* liv, 22*, 13* + Alleluia. Then there shall be read in Coptic and in Arabic the Gospel: *Luke* xxii, 7-13, and after it the Exhortation of St

²¹ From 'Have mercy upon us, etc.' up to 'And with thy spirit', forms the opening part of the Service of the Morning Offering of Incense.

²² Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 392.

²³ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 393.

²⁴ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 397.

²⁵ Cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyyat as-Sanawiyat al-Muqaddasah*, Cairo, 1908, p. 331 sqq.

²⁶ The kiss is conveyed by the priest in placing his hand upon the heads of the members of the congregation, as he passes among them, while incensing.

²⁷ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 394.

²⁸ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 49.

²⁹ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 153.

³⁰ For the text of this Greek Hymn, cf. A. Baumstark, 'Drei Griechische Passionsgesänge Ägyptischer Liturgie' in *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 3 Serie, 3-4 Band, pp. 74-75.

³¹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

John Chrysostom.³² This Service is then concluded in the usual manner. Then follows the 3rd, 6th and 9th Hour of the Day, at the end of which there is performed the Service of the Foot-washing, a synopsis of which is given in the *E.C.Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 311-14.

THE DIVINE LITURGY

The priest begins the Divine Liturgy in the usual manner,³³ and the choir sings: '*Receive me, to-day, Son of God, as a partaker of Thy Mystical Supper; for I shall not speak of the Mystery to Thine enemies. I shall not kiss Thee as did Judas, but, as the thief on the right, I shall believe and confess Thee. Remember me, O Lord, when Thou comest into Thy Kingdom.*'³⁴ The Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the usual manner, except for the changes which are noted hereafter. There is not sung 'Alleluia. This is the day which the Lord hath made, etc.'³⁵ nor the Response '*Saved, indeed, and with thy spirit*'.³⁶ The priest offers incense in the usual manner, and goes round the church incensing, but without giving the kiss.³⁷ The Pauline Epistle which is read is: *I Corinthians xi, 23-34*, but the Catholic Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles are not read to-day. The Trisagion is sung in the same manner as at the Morning Offering of Incense on this day.³⁸ The Psalm-Versicle is *Ps. xxii, 5**; *Ps. xl, 10** + Alleluia. However, if the Patriarch be present, there is sung: *Ps. cvi, 32, 41**; *Ps. cix, 4* + Alleluia. The Gospel is *Matt. xxvi, 20-9*, at the end of the reading of which there is sung the following Response: '*Thy Body and Blood is the forgiveness of our sins, etc.*' The Creed is recited in the same manner as at the Morning Offering of Incense on this day.³⁹ The Prayer of the Aspasmos⁴⁰ is not said to-day, but there is sung the following Hymn of the Aspasmos: 'The

³² For the Coptic text and English translation of this Exhortation, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Homilies or Exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary' in *Le Muséon*, t. XLV, pp. 36 and 59-60.

³³ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 5.

³⁴ The opening words of this chant are in Greek, the rest, however, is in Arabic. It is, with the omission of the words 'on the right, I shall believe', the same as the chant which replaces the Cherubic Hymn of the Divine Liturgy of the Greek Church on Maundy Thursday.

³⁵ Cf. John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, London, 1882, p. 37. Note, however, that this is sung on Saturdays, Sundays, Feasts of our Lord, in Paschaltide, and on all days of non-fasting.

³⁶ Cf. Bute, op. cit., p. 43.

³⁷ Cf. page 327, note 26.

³⁸ Cf. page 327.

³⁹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 16.

Bread of Life which came down to us from heaven, etc.⁴⁰ and 'Through the *intercessions* of the *Holy Mother of God*, Mary, etc.'⁴¹ and 'We worship Thee, O Christ, etc.'⁴² The Liturgy then continues in the usual manner as far as the prayer 'Remember, Lord, those who have brought unto Thee these *gifts*, etc.'⁴³ but the part of this prayer which follows, in which there is the commemoration of the Faithful Departed, is omitted, and there is said directly: '*As it was and is and shall be*, etc.'⁴⁴ Then the priest shall say: '*That as in this, thus also in all things*, etc.'⁴⁵ and the rest of the Divine Liturgy in the usual manner. However, *Ps. cl* is not sung,⁴⁶ and in place of the prayer: 'Our mouth is filled with gladness, etc.'⁴⁷ there is said the prayer 'We give thanks to Thee, Lord, Lover of man, etc.'⁴⁸ In the meanwhile, there is read the Lesson: *Isaiah lii*, 13-14, 12, and the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps. xlix*, 17-18 + *Alleluia* is sung, and then the Prayer of the Gospel is said. The Gospel which is read is *John xiii*, 21-30. At the blessing at the end of the Divine Liturgy, the priest shall not place his hand upon the heads of the people.

GOOD FRIDAY

On Thursday afternoon, at about 4 p.m., there is performed the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour of the Eve of Good Friday. On Good Friday morning, at about 8 a.m. there is sung Morning Prayer which is followed by the 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th Hour of the day, and the performance of all these Hours generally lasts until about 5 p.m. in the afternoon, when there is sung the 12th Hour, at the end of which takes place the Ceremony of the Burial of Christ.

6TH HOUR OF THE DAY

This Hour differs in form from the 6th Hour of the other days of Holy Week, and there are certain ceremonies which are attached to it. The priest begins as follows: 'In the Name of the Father, etc. The Sixth Hour of the Great Friday of the Holy Pascha, may its blessing be upon us. Amen.' Then there

⁴⁰ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 699.

⁴¹ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 208.

⁴² Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 208.

⁴³ Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁶ Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴⁸ Cf. *The Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 307.

is said: 'A Lesson from Moses the prophet, may his holy blessing be with us. Amen.' *Numbers* xxi, 1-9, at the end of which there is said: 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, etc.'⁴⁹ 'From Isaiah the prophet, etc.' *Isaiah* liii, 7*-12. 'From Isaiah the prophet, etc.' *Isaiah* xii, 2-xiii, 10. 'From Amos the prophet, etc.' *Amos* viii, 9-12. After the reading of these Lessons there is said: 'Thine is the power, etc.' twelve times.⁵⁰ Then the candles in front of the eikon of the Crucifixion are lighted, and the senior priest and the rest of the priests shall vest in their phelonions,⁵¹ and they shall uncover their heads, and each one shall advance with a censer in his hand. Then, in company, each, according to his rank, shall incense the eikon of the Crucifixion thrice. At the first incensing there is sung: 'We worship Thee, O Christ and Thy Life-giving Cross, etc.' and at the second incensing there is sung: 'My Lord Jesus Christ Who wast hanged on the Cross, etc.' and at the third incensing there is sung: 'Hail Cross on which Christ the King was hanged, etc.' If the Patriarch be present, they shall give to him the censer, and when the priests have finished incensing, the deacons shall sing: 'This is the censer of pure gold, etc.'⁵² 'Who offered Himself up as an acceptable sacrifice, etc.'⁵³ 'His good Father smelled Him, etc.'⁵⁴ and 'We worship Thee, O Christ, etc.'⁵⁵ Then there shall be chanted in the mourning tone: 'The Epistle of our teacher Paul, his holy blessing be with us. Amen. Paul, the servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.'⁵⁶ *Galatians* vi, 14-16, at the end of which is said: 'For grace be with you, etc.'⁵⁷ Then follows the 1st Troparion: 'O Thou Who on the sixth day, etc.'; the 1st Theotokion: 'Since we have not any means, etc.'; the 2nd Troparion: 'Thou hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth, etc.' and the 2nd Theotokion: 'Thou art she who is full of grace, etc.' as at the Canonical Hour of Sext.⁵⁸ Then there is sung in Greek: 'O Only-begotten Son and Word of God the Father, etc.'⁵⁹ and

⁴⁹ This is said at the end of the reading of every Lesson from the Old Testament.

⁵⁰ Cf. page 325.

⁵¹ Some priests put on both epitrachelion and phelonion, others, only the epitrachelion. The colour of these vestments must be either black or of some dark colour.

⁵² Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵³ Cf. *Kitāb ul-Abṣalmūdiyyat*, etc., pp. 143-44 and *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 49.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 297 and Bute, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8.

⁵⁷ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 181.

after it, in Greek also : 'Holy God, Who for us didst become Man, etc.'⁵⁸ Then the Trisagion is sung with the addition 'Who wast crucified for us' at each of the three clauses.⁵⁹ Then the priest offers incense and there is sung the Psalm-Versicle : Ps. xxxvii, 21*, 22* ; Ps. xxi, 17*-18*, 19, 8*, 9+Alleluia. After this there are read in both Coptic and Arabic the following Gospels : Matt. xxvii, 27-45 ; Mark xv, 26-33 ; Luke xxiii, 26-44 ; John xix, 13-27. When the reader reaches the words 'And from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour' in the Arabic version of Matt. xxvii, 45, the candles are extinguished and the electric lighting of the church is also turned off, and the church remains in darkness, save for the candle at the lectern, until the beginning of the 9th Hour. After the reading of the Gospels there is sung the *Tarḥ* : 'All ye who are in Jerusalem, come, see this spectacle, etc.'⁶⁰ and after this there are said the Intercessions.⁶¹ Then the priest shall say : 'God, have mercy upon us, etc.' to which the choir responds in the tone of the Pascha 'Kyrie eleison' twelve times.⁶² After this, there is sung : 'King of peace, etc.'⁶³ during which the priest says silently the blessing of Holy Week.⁶³ Then the clergy and the people sit down, and there is sung : 'Remember me, O my Lord, when Thou comest into Thy Kingdom, etc.'⁶⁴ with the Response : 'Thou Who wast crucified for us'. After this there is sung the Greek Hymn : 'Remember me, Lord, in Thy Kingdom, etc.'⁶⁵ after each verse of which there is sung in Coptic : 'Remember me, O my Lord, etc.' Then there is sung : 'Blessed art thou, O Dēmas, the thief, etc.'⁶⁶ and the Paralex[is] : 'It happened, when they hanged our Saviour on the wood of the Cross, etc.'⁶⁷ and at the end there is read the Homily of St Dionysius.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ For the text of this Hymn, cf. A. Baumstark, 'Drei Griechische Passionsgesänge Ägyptischer Liturgie' in *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. 3, Serie, 3-4 Band, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 397.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Kitāb Turāḥāt*, etc., pp. 216-26.

⁶¹ Cf. page 326.

⁶² Cf. page 326.

⁶³ Cf. page 323.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Kitāb Dallāl wa Tarḥ Gum'at al-Ālām wa 'Id al-Fiṣḥ al-Magḥd*, Cairo, 1920, p. 128.

⁶⁵ For the text of this Hymn, cf. A. Baumstark, 'Drei Griechische Passionsgesänge Ägyptischer Liturgie' in *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. 3, Serie, 3-4 Band, pp. 75-78.

⁶⁶ Cf. the *Kitāb Dallāl*, etc., p. 132.

⁶⁷ Cf. the *Kitāb Dallāl*, etc., pp. 132-3.

⁶⁸ The text of this Homily was once printed in a pamphlet, but, apart from this, it is found only in manuscripts.

9TH HOUR OF THE DAY

When the candles have been relit, the priest says: 'In the Name of the Father, etc. The Ninth Hour of the Great Friday of the Holy Pascha, may its blessing be upon us. Amen.' Then there is said: 'From Jeremiah the *prophet*, etc.': *Jeremiah* xi, 18-xii, 13, at the end of which is said: 'Glory to the Holy Trinity, etc.' 'From Zechariah the *prophet*, etc.': *Zechariah* xiv, 5-11. After the reading of these Lessons there shall be said: 'Thine is the power, etc.' twelve times.⁶⁹ Then the priests shall offer incense before the eikon of the Crucifixion, as at the 6th Hour, and the deacons shall sing: 'The golden censer is the *Virgin*, etc.'⁷⁰, 'Who offered Himself up as an acceptable *sacrifice*, etc.'⁷¹ and 'We worship Thee, O Christ, etc.'⁷² Then there shall be chanted in the mourning tone: 'By reason of the *resurrection* of the dead who have fallen asleep in the Faith of Christ, Lord, give rest to all their *souls*.'⁷³ 'Paul, the servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.'⁷⁴: *Philippians* ii, 5-11, at the end of the reading of which is said: 'For grace be with you, etc.'⁷⁵ Then there shall be said the 1st Troparion: 'O Thou Who didst taste death in the *flesh* at the ninth hour, etc.'; 1st Theotokion: 'O Thou Who wast born of the *Virgin* for our sakes, etc.'; 2nd Troparion: 'When the thief saw the *Author* of life hanging upon the *Cross*, etc.'; 2nd Theotokion: 'When the Mother saw the Lamb and Shepherd, etc.', as at the Canonical Hour of None.⁷⁶ After this there is sung the Trisagion with the addition '*Who wast crucified for us*' at each of the three clauses. Then the priest offers incense, and there is sung the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps.* lxxviii, 2-3*, 22+Alleluia. After this there are read the following Gospels: *Matt.* xxvii, 46-50; *Mark* xv, 34-37; *Luke* xxiii, 45-46; *John* xix, 28-30. After the reading of the Gospels there is sung the *Tarh*: 'From generation unto generation Thy years shall not fail, etc.'⁷⁷ and after this there are said the Intercessions.⁷⁸ Then the priest shall say: 'God, have mercy

⁶⁹ Cf. page 325.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 135.

⁷¹ Cf. page 327.

⁷² Cf. page 329.

⁷³ Cf. *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 704.

⁷⁴ Cf. page 330.

⁷⁵ Cf. page 330.

⁷⁶ Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 297-98.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Kitāb Ṭurāḥāt*, etc., pp. 227-34.

⁷⁸ Cf. page 326.

upon us, etc.' to which the choir responds in the tone of the Pascha 'Kyrie eleison, twelve times.⁷⁹ After this there is sung: 'King of peace, etc.'⁸⁰ during which the priest says silently the blessing of Holy Week.⁸¹

12TH HOUR

The door of the sanctuary shall be opened, and the curtain which hangs before it shall be changed to one of some colour suitable for Holy Saturday, such as red or white. On the altar the candles shall be lighted, and also the sanctuary lamps. Then there shall be made ready two eikons, one of the Crucifixion, and one of the Burial of Christ, as well as crosses, candles and censers for the procession. After this, the priests shall vest in black vestments, and they shall take censers in their hands, and together with the deacons they shall ascend the ambon, bearing with them the eikon of the Crucifixion, and the crosses and the candles. Then they shall begin to read the Lesson from the Lamentations of Jeremiah the Prophet: *Lamentations* iii, 1-66, in Coptic and in Arabic. At the end of the reading of this Lesson, the priests shall bare their heads, and they shall begin to intone: 'Thine is the power, etc.'⁸² twelve times; one verse of which is intoned from the top of the ambon, and one verse of which is intoned from the foot of the ambon by the congregation. After this, there shall be intoned from the top of the ambon the Psalm-Versicle: *Ps.* lxxxvii, 7; *Ps.* xxii, 4*; *Ps.* xlv, 7-9* + Alleluia, and from the foot of the ambon they shall intone: 'That we may be worthy to hear the Holy Gospel, etc.'⁸³ Then the priests shall read, according to their rank, the four Gospels: *Matt.* xxvii, 57-61; *Mark* xv, 42-xvi, 1; *Luke* xxiii, 50-56; *John* xix, 38-42. If the Patriarch or a bishop be present, it is he who shall read the first Gospel in Coptic and in Arabic. Then there shall be sung from the top of the ambon the *Ṭarḥ*: 'When it was evening of that day, which was the *Parasceve* of the great feast, etc.'⁸⁴ at the end of which there is added the Response: 'Christ our *Saviour* came, He

⁷⁹ Cf. page 326.

⁸⁰ Cf. page 326.

⁸¹ Cf. page 323.

⁸² Cf. page 325.

⁸³ Cf. page 325.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Kitāb Ṭurūḥāt al-Bashkat al-Muqaddasah*, Cairo, 1914, pp. 240-4 and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Ṭurūḥāt of the Coptic Church' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Vol. III, p. 108.

suffered, etc.'⁸⁵ Then shall be said the Intercessions with, at the end, the chant : 'King of *peace*, etc.'⁸⁶ Then the Patriarch or the bishop, if he be present, otherwise the senior priest, shall lift up the Cross, and all the people shall exclaim one hundred times '*Kyrie eleison*'. The priests and the deacons and singers on the ambon, as well as the congregation below, shall turn first to the east, and then to the west, and then to the north and then to the south, and the eikon and the crosses shall likewise be turned in these directions. Then they shall turn again to the east, and they shall chant '*Kyrie eleison*' twelve times to the accompaniment of cymbals. After this, the clergy shall come down from the ambon, and they shall enter the sanctuary and shall go round it in procession three times, and then they shall come down from the sanctuary, and shall go round the church in procession three times. After this, they shall enter the sanctuary again, and they shall go round it once, and they shall chant '*Kyrie eleison*', as before. Then the deacons shall sing the Hymn : 'Golgotha in *Hebrew*, the *Skull* in *Greek*, the place in which they hanged Thee, Lord, etc.'⁸⁷ If the Patriarch or a bishop be present, they shall sing : 'Thou hast received the *grace* of Moses, etc.'⁸⁸ but if not, then the Hymn shall be concluded thus : 'Let us also worship Him, crying aloud, saying : Have mercy upon us, God our *Saviour*, etc.'⁸⁹ Then the priest shall say the blessing.

SERVICE OF THE BURIAL OF CHRIST

The senior priest shall take the eikon of the Burial of Christ, or should the church not possess such an eikon, then the eikon of the Crucifixion, and he shall envelop it in a white linen veil, and shall lay on it a cross, and shall then place it on the altar at the south west corner. Having done this, he shall spread over it, or else around it, roses and myrrh, and shall then cover it with the veil called *Prospherein*.⁹⁰ After this he shall place at the north and the south of it two candlesticks with lighted

⁸⁵ Cf. *Kitāb Turāhāt*, etc. p. 244.

⁸⁶ Cf. page 326.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Kitāb Dallāl wa Tartīb Gum 'at al-Ālām wa 'Id al-Fiṣḥ al-Magīd*, Cairo, 1920, pp. 242-4, and *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, pp. 708-10.

⁸⁸ For the Coptic text and translation of this hymn, cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Liturgy coram Patriarcha aut Episcopo in the Coptic Church' in *Le Muséon*, Vol. XLIX, p. 84.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Kitāb Dallāl*, etc., p. 144 and *Book of the Three Anaphorae*, p. 710.

⁹⁰ For particulars of this Veil, cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. VII, p. 383.

candles which represent the two angels at the head and the feet of the Saviour. Then he shall begin the reading of the Psalter, and he shall read the first psalm. Then another priest shall read the second psalm, and after this a third priest shall read the third psalm as far as the words 'I rested and I slept'.⁹¹ The priests and the deacons shall now descend from the sanctuary, and the curtain before the door of the sanctuary shall be drawn. The rest of the Psalter, that is to say, from *Psalm* iii, 6* to *Psalm* cli, is then distributed amongst the priests and the deacons who then range themselves around the altar, and each one recites at the same time as the others, the psalms which have been allotted to him.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

BYZANTINE-SLAVONIC RITE AT ST GEORGE'S, SUDBURY

The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom in Slavonic was celebrated at St George's Catholic Church, Harrow Road, Sudbury, Middlesex, in the evening, after Solemn Vespers, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and again on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by the Rev. Ceslaus Sipovich, M.I.C., D.D., of Marian House, Holden Avenue, North Finchley, N.12.

The music of the liturgy was rendered by a visiting Russian mixed choir, but the choir of St George's joined in some of the responses, and also sang the Lord's Prayer; on the first occasion, all the singers occupied the west gallery (although normally the choir of St George's wear cassocks and surplices and occupy stalls in the chancel), but the second time the visiting choir were accommodated in the Lady Chapel, which is separated from the High Altar by an oak screen.

On both occasions Fr Sipovich preached a short but moving sermon from the altar steps, in English, begging for prayers for the restoration of the Faith and freedom of worship in his own country.

The parish priest, Rev. Clement L. Russell, assisted Fr Sipovich in the administration of Holy Communion.

On both feasts a number of visitors of the Byzantine Slavonic rite were in the church, but there was also a large congregation of parishioners, most of whom received Holy Communion and remained to venerate the Cross and partake of the blessed bread.

⁹¹ Ps. III, 6*.

It is hoped that this may be the beginning of a close and lasting friendship and co-operation between St George's, a church famous for the dignity and splendour of its liturgical worship in the English tradition of the Roman rite, and our brethren of the Slavonic and perhaps other Orientals rites.

J.V.H.

Since there are now a number of priests of the Byzantine rite either permanently or on a visit to Great Britain. Catholics should be urged to take the opportunity of sometimes assisting at these liturgies or other services so that they may learn something of the fullness of Catholicism. Our weekly papers could help this very much by giving the times and place of these liturgies. If they are occasional celebrations then the notice should be published before the event.

* * *

Two of our contributors in this issue are not in communion with the Holy See. This is no new departure in the *E.C.Q.* but we always make this clear to our readers.

In this case the article on *The Eastern Schism* is by an Anglican professor of history, Br George Every, S.S.M. Br George is the author of *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204* (S.P.C.K. 1945), so he is fully qualified to deal with the subject. It is good for us to make use of all scholarship on this vital problem.

The short paper on the shrine of Our Lady of Soumela in Pontus is from the pen of an Orthodox Greek archimandrite of Alexandria, he has also supplied the two photographs. We thank both.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

CATHOLIC

Irénikon, T. XXVIII, Nos 3-4; T. XXIX, Nos 1-2; 1955-56.

The principal theological theme treated in these numbers of *Irénikon* is that of the Episcopate. On this three important articles have appeared, *La Notion Wicliffienne de l'épiscopat dans l'interprétation de Jean Huss* by D. P. de Vooght (T. XXVIII, No. 3); an extremely lively, actual, scholarly and at times controversial contribution entitled 'Presbyterium' et 'Ordo Episcoporum' by Dom B. Botte (T. XXIX, No. 1); and an article by Dom O. Rousseau on the declaration of the German Bishops in 1875, *La Vraie valeur de la Episcopat dans l'Eglise* (T. XXIX, No. 2); the Editorial in T. XXIX, No. 1 speaks

of the importance of the theology of the Episcopate and promises further studies. Other articles of particular interest to *E.C.Q.* readers are those on the great controversies over ecclesiastical property in Russia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by J. Meyendorff, a masterly survey which merits reprinting (T. XXVIII, No. 4 and T. XXIX, Nos 1 and 2); A. Kniazeff's *Mariologie biblique et liturgie byzantine* (T. XXVIII, No. 3); E. Benz's two articles on Luther and Melancthon and the Orthodox Church (T. XXVIII, No. 4 and T. XXIX, No. 2); and Dom O. Rousseau's article on liturgical languages in East and West (T. XXIX, No. 1). The *Chronique Religieuse* is as usual amazingly complete and full of interest, giving an objective and charitable survey of everything of œcumenical concern in the life of Eastern and Western Christendom within the period it covers; and there are many good things in the *Notes et Documents*, notably an account of a vigorous Melkite defence of Byzantium by Fr O. Kéramé (T. XXVIII, No. 4), and an important contribution on the Pseudo-Dionysius by our old friend the Archimandrite Cyprian Kern. (T. XXIX, No. 2).

A.H.A.

NON-CATHOLIC

The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, Vol. II, No. 1.

Easter issue 1956. This has just come out of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School Press, Brookline, Mass. This we are told is 'devoted to Greek Orthodox theological thought, scholarship and discussion'. This number is excellent, we will have further comment to make later.—THE EDITOR.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesis of Emesa. Edited by William Telfer, Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (Library of Christian Classics IV.) Pp. 466 (S.C.M. Press, 1955) 30s.

Dr Telfer has made a judicious selection from among the *Catecheses* of Cyril (the first six, with those on the Son and the Spirit and those on the Judgement and the Resurrection of the body) and has added a version of Cyril's letter to Constantius on the portent that appeared in the sky at Jerusalem. The other work, Nemesis on the nature of man, is a much-neglected classic of patristic literature which was known and used throughout the Middle Ages, when it went under the name of Gregory of Nyssa and supplied the foundations of the anthropology of St Thomas. In this latter work Dr Telfer

has supplied a detailed commentary on the text, section by section, besides adding the usual wealth of footnotes, so that the mysteries of patristic thought about human physiology, and about such problems as why we have free will, are cleared up for the reader as he goes along.

The general introduction gives some ten pages to explaining the setting for Cyril's lectures, namely the Constantinian basilica at Jerusalem, and for this Vincent and Abel have been followed; the new work on the basilica by K. J. Conant, which is published in *Speculum* for January 1956, and which corrects earlier assumptions and deductions at many points, appeared too late for use in this volume. This is a pity, for though Dr Telfer has gone far beyond the ordinary editor of patristic texts in giving us plans of the basilica, his work would have been improved had he been able to use the remarkable reconstruction plans of Mr Conant. For the date of the lectures Dr Telfer argues for the Lent of 350, and in the vexed question of the authorship of the five post-baptismal (or Mystagogic) *Catecheses*, he is against the attribution of them to Cyril. Dr Telfer urges against the attribution the fact that there are only five of these *Mystagogic Catecheses* which have been handed down in the tradition as Cyril's, whereas the liturgy was celebrated on all the six days of Easter week. But there is further evidence on this point which Dr Telfer does not comment on. In the old Armenian Lectionary published by Conybeare there are set down readings for the church at Jerusalem which agree with those prescribed at the head of each of the *Catecheses* of Cyril. Now this correspondence, admitted by Dr Telfer for the nineteen *Caetcheses ad baptizandos*, also, obtains for the *Catecheses ad baptizatos* during Easter week (save for one omission in the lectionary). The lectionary allots the days for these post-baptismal *Catecheses* as the Monday, Friday, and Saturday in Easter week, with Low Sunday for the last one. The one day omitted by the lectionary may be Tuesday or Wednesday, but it is impossible to have a one-to-one correspondence between catechetical lectures and days of the week, and the argument used by Dr Telfer breaks down. As he is prepared to admit that the Armenian Lectionary gives a true picture of the Jerusalem liturgy in the days of Cyril, whereas he thinks that the pilgrim-narrative of Etheria describes the days of John, successor to Cyril, it is obvious that the witness of the Lectionary in favour of Cyril as author of the five *Catecheses ad baptizatos* provides a serious difficulty against Dr Telfer's views.

J. H. CREHAN, S.J.

Codex Climaci Rescriptus Graecus. A Study of portions of the Greek New Testament comprising the underwriting of part of a Palimpsest in the Library of Westminster College, Cambridge (MS. Gregory 1561, L), by Ian A. Moir. Pp. xii, 117, viii pl. (Cambridge University Press 1956) 30s. net.

The work which we are reviewing contains the edition and study of the fragments of the Greek New Testament found in a codex lent by Mrs A. S. Lewis to the Library of Westminster College, Cambridge. It deals with a Palimpsest whose upper text contains two treatises in Syriac by John Climacus, from which it derives its name. The original writings of the codices used for the composition of the new manuscript included some Palestinian Syriac fragments, which were edited by the above mentioned English scholar. Knowledge of the Greek section of the Codex was limited to some published extracts by Mrs Lewis and to the enumeration by Gregory, who assigned to the MS. the number 1561 for the fragments of the N.T. and by Rahlfs, who numbered it 2011 because of some fragments of Joshua and Psalms according to the LXX. Ignorance of the Codex in the Introductions is general, and so this study by Moir, considered from this aspect alone, is to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the textual criticism of the Greek New Testament.

After an interesting comparison with the handwriting and paleographic characteristics of other codices, the author concludes that the Greek writing of the Climacus Rescriptus cannot be set to an earlier date than that of the latter half of the seventh century, though it could possibly be somewhat later. On the evidence of specimens given by the author, this seems to us a well founded conclusion, and therefore it can be safely assumed that the second half of the seventh century is its most probable date.

As to place of origin, Moir feels certain that the MS. has been kept in the Monastery of Sinai, but this does not mean it was written there in respect either to the first or second text. Egypt is not excluded, and a more precise examination of the circumstances by which it was acquired might perhaps lead us to the conclusion that its birth-place was Nitria.

The MS. presents us with very especial peculiarities, some of them impossible to be explained in the present state of our documentation. The contents supply us with large fragments from Matthew and John and with only a few verses from Mark and Luke in the synoptically arranged account of the Passion.

The general order of the Gospels is : Matt., Mark, Luke, John. The Matthew fragments contain roughly chapters ii-xiii, xxvi-xxvii. Those of John, chapters vi-xii, xiv-xxi. There are, however, important omissions in both, and no satisfactory explanation can be given for these. Certainly there does not seem to be any doctrinal reasons for these omissions, nor does it seem probable that the harmonistic character of the Passion could be applied to other parts, and therefore the omitted passages must be found in some other part of the work. Anyway we have not got a Lectionary before us, as some of the reviewers of Mrs Lewis thought. Another of the Codex characteristics is the large number of sections assigned to each Gospel, very different to the well-known lists of Ammonius. We agree with the author, that this system of sections was not compiled by the writer of this specific type of Synopsis. Unfortunately, the study and annotation of these extra-biblical elements have very frequently suffered from neglect in the editions and descriptions of the MSS. and so the consultative material at our disposal is not abundant.

The editor gives the texts according to the upper writing. With reference to the reconstruction of the inferior text, we think the inferior order should be followed ; then the text could be read according to the tables on page 97.

One of the omissions in the MS. is that of John viii, 1-11. Moir admits that the archetype may have contained this text, but there is no indication in the MS. that this passage was known to the scribe. We think, however, that an argument in favour of the opposite view is found in the number of sections. John vii, 50-51 has number 195, which ought logically to include verses 50-53. John viii, 13 starts with number 200. The part of the verse viii, 12 should form part of the section 199. Therefore the archetype on which the scribe depends supposes the fragment of the woman taken in adultery, John viii, 1-11, which must have been accommodated in the sections 196-8, which would be in perfect accord with the brevity of sections in the whole work. The omission is found in the same line where many other omissions are found, for which no explanation is available.

The author admits (pp. 86, 91) an especial relation between our Codex and the Sinaiticus Codex before the latter was submitted to the various corrections. But the reading of Matt viii, 12, *εξελευσονται* is not supported by the Sinaiticus Codex alone. Souter (ed. 1953) quotes Sinaiticus, Vet. Lat., Syr. Vet. and Peshitta, Diates., Heracleon, Syriac

version of Eusebius, Cyprian and Latin version of Irenaeus. The Ethiopic version should be added. Other witnesses of the Vet. Lat. can still be seen in Sabatier, above all quotations of Augustinus. This reading is still recognized by Campbell in his Synopsis (1899, §§ 41, 63). Of the five variants which he quotes from John, the omission of the article in vi, 61 and viii, 31, seems to us to be irrelevant, for in the collation of John in pp. 71-82 it can be seen that such omissions before proper names is particularly frequent in the Codex.

For the omission of $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ in Matt. iii, 15, he quotes (p. 87) the authority of the Sahidic version. Of the five witnesses brought in by Horner in this verse, three have *na*. The Morgan Codex must be added to these. The Sahidic version, therefore, supports the lection and not its omission.

In Matt xxvii, 35, all the addition is a harmonistic one with John xix, 24, and it finds support in the most important witnesses of the Caesarean text, among others. For the addition of $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ however, the Vulgate cannot be brought in, for the best codices and editions ignore it, even those which have the harmonistic reading.

The work is enriched by reconstruction tables of the primitive order of the folios, and includes a list of contractions and compendia, an important list of section numbers which have been conserved, and an analysis of variants with respect to the Received Text, which are very handy for the study of the Greek recensions of the Gospels.

DOM P. BELLET.

Map of Christian Egypt. On stout paper, measuring 101 x 73 cm.

Folds to 26 x 13 cm. Printed in colours on a white ground.

Obtainable from the Secretary, Société d'Archéologie Copte, 9, Sharia Al-Gîzah, Gîzah, Cairo, Egypt. Price, excluding postage, 10 piastres (2s.).

Since the beginning of the present century there has been a marked increase in the interest shown by scholars, as well as by various sections of the general public, in the Eastern Churches in general, and in the Egyptian Church in particular. This interest has been further fostered by a real desire on the part of many Christians to obtain a better knowledge and understanding of those who in other lands share with them a common Faith. For this reason, therefore, it is, above all, requisite, that accurate information about the Eastern Churches be made available to those in search of it and, in this respect, as regards the Egyptian (Coptic) Church, Mr Charles Bachatly, Secretary of the Coptic Archæological Society, has made a most valuable contribution in the form of a Map of Christian Egypt which shows the past and the present state of the

bishoprics and monasteries of the Egyptian Church. It is needless to say that this map will be of great use to all those who are interested in the history of the Egyptian Church, as well as by travellers to the Nile Valley who wish to see for themselves the various monuments of ecclesiastical architecture which the land of Egypt possesses.

The material for this Map has been collected from reliable sources, and it is set out in a clear and accurate manner. It must, however, be understood that the scale of this map imposes certain limitations and, in consequence, it has not been possible to include every detail relating to the subject; nevertheless, no item of any importance has been omitted.

The sources which have supplied the information given in this map are as follows: (a) the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church which, among sundry references to bishoprics and monasteries, contains also lists of the bishops who assisted at the Synods held in 744, 1078, 1086, 1128 and 1240 A.D.;¹ (b) the Canons of the Egyptian Church which were framed with the assistance of the bishops;² (c) the Book of the Concoction of the Myron (Chrism).³

There are at present seventeen bishoprics of the Egyptian Church, excluding the Sees of Jerusalem and Kharṭûm (Sudan). In Lower Egypt there are four bishops who have their residence at Maṣṣarah*, Ṭanṭâ*, Zagâzīg* and Shibīn al-Kûm*. At Cairo there is the Seat of the Patriarch. In Upper Egypt there are thirteen bishops with residence at Al-Gīzah*, Madinat al-Fayyûm*, Benī Sûef*, al-Minyâ*, Dairût, Manfalût, Asyût*, Abû Tīg, Sûhâg, Gīrgâ*, al-Balinâ, Qenâ* and Luxor (al-Aqṣur). The towns marked with an asterisk are also the capitals of provinces. A casual glance at this map will reveal that in former times the number of bishoprics was considerably larger than at the present day. This reduction of the number of bishoprics is due to various causes. For example, there has been a tendency, noticeable already in the Middle Ages, to join together bishoprics, when, for one reason or another, towns had lost their former importance and had degenerated into little more than villages. The present rearrangement of the ancient dioceses has been made to meet the requirements of modern Egypt.

¹ Cf. B. Evetts, 'History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria' in *Patrologia Orientalia*, T. I. fasc. 2, 4; T. V, fasc. 1; T. X, fasc. 5 (down to 849 A.D.). Continued by Y. Abd al-Masîh and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Vol. II. Part I (A.D. 849-880), and Part II (in collaboration with A. S. Atiya), (A.D. 880-1066).

² Cf. Isûdhûrus, *Kitâb al-Qawânîn*, Cairo 1927.

³ Cf. Arn. van Lantschoot, 'Le MS. Vatican Copte 44 et le Livre du Chrême' in *Le Muséon*, T. XLV, pp. 181-234.

This map also shows the position of the monasteries of the Egyptian Church which are now seven in number. Of this number four are in the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn which lies to the west of the Delta. They are Dair Abû Maqâr (St Macarius), Dair Anbâ Bishoi (St Pishoi), Dair as-Suriyân (of the Syrians), and Dair al-Baramûs (of the Romans).⁴ In the Fayyûm there is one monastery, namely, that of Anbâ Samwîl (St Samuel) of Qalamûn, and on the west bank of the Nile, to the north of Asyût, there is the Dair al-Muḥarraḡ. In the Eastern Desert, bordering the Red Sea, there are two monasteries, namely, Dair Anbâ Anṭûniûs (St Antony) and Dair Anbâ Bûlâ (St Paul). Of the remaining monasteries which in former times were so numerous, those which have not been destroyed or have fallen into ruin, are now served by secular clergy for the needs of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. In the Peninsula of Sinai there is, of course, the famous monastery of St Catherine which belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church. There is also shown on this map the position of the five oases, and the roads or tracks which lead to them. In connection with these oases, it may be recalled that at one time they possessed a bishop. Indeed, a certain Isaac, bishop of the Oases, is mentioned among the bishops who assisted at the Concoction of the Myron (Chrism) which took place in the year A.D. 1346.

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

⁴ Cf. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to The Monasteries of the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrân*, Cairo 1954.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Cambridge University Press: *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, L. W. Brown.

The Harvill Press: *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, Louis Bouyer.

REVIEWS

Brookline, Mass: *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

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Our Lady of Sorrows, a painting by Luis Morales in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral (about 1570).

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